1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

Funerary rites.—Death may result from the abduction of the soul by some spirit or by the ghost of a relative. 761

> The ghost-soul loves and pities the living whom it has deserted, but the latter fear and abhor the ghost-soul. [Henry, 1941, p. 67.]

Not long ago the *Aweikoma-Caingang* cremated the dead and later collected and buried the bones, along with part of the deceased's property. After a cremation, they extinguished their fires and drilled fire anew. The soul of the deceased loomed as a peril especially to the surviving spouse, who went into retreat, abstained from eating meat, and underwent lustration. To terminate mourning, the mourner's hair and fingernails were clipped, pounded up, and thrown into the water. Then followed a beer festival, accompanied by dances and songs, during which the widow drank beer from a bamboo tube. Keening was not confined to the period of death, but occurred throughout the following year whenever relatives recalled their bereavement. 764 765

The *Caingang* now inter their dead with knees drawn up. Chants are sung around the body during and after its transportation to the grave. One cemetery had two central tumuli, 10 to 20 feet by 18 to 25 feet (3 to 6 m. by 5.5 to 7.5 m.) surrounded by vertically walled ditches. The same tumuli have been reported for the 18th-century *Guayaná*, ancestors of the *Caingang*[9] (fig. 60). The corpse, with funeral deposit, is put in a deep chamber, roofed with palm fronds and earth. The villagers at once desert the settlement and hastily construct new dwellings in the woods. For 3 days they eat only palm shoots (palmitos) and maize boiled by throwing heated potsherds in the water. They destroy part of the deceased's property and impose a strict taboo on his name. 764 768

The grave is periodically visited to renew the mound and to hold a memorial service with lamentations, dancing, chanting, and drinking. For several years, at dawn and dusk the relatives of a dead person utter funeral laments. 765

In days of old if a person died far away from his village, his companions interred his body on the spot but kept his head in a pot. On returning home they celebrated a funeral ceremony and buried the head in the communal cemetery (Horta Barbosa, 1913, pp. 29–30). 766

Life after death.—Before the burial, the shaman, as he rattles his gourd by the corpse, warns the soul about the lurking dangers in the other world. He tells it that it will arrive at two paths, one leading to the cobweb of a gigantic spider and the other to a trap which will 775 764

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[9] See Lozano (1873–74, 1: 423): "tienen un género de cementerio, que conservan muy limpio; y en él abren sus sepulturas, y en enterrando á alguno, ponen sobre cada una un montón de tierra en figura piramidal, en cuyo remate ciertan un medio calabazo, y al pié conservan de continuo un fuego lento que van á cebar todos los dias con leña muy tenue, sus mas cercanos parientes. El calabazo, dicen, es para que no falte al difunto con que beber, si le afligiere la sed; y el fuego para que ahuyente las moscas." On the funerary mounds, see also Serrano (1930, pp. 15–16).

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"Chantígn, listen to this. Chantígn, listen to this." Singing is a favorite way of showing off among the Kaingáng, as among ourselves. Sometime later after Chukembégn had had a fight with his wife he complained bitterly that Kanggúin had said to her: "'if you were my wife I would not treat you that way.' Whenever anyone has a fight with his wife Kanggúin always talks that way to her. He wants a wife, but no one will live with him!"

Nanmblí has two wives. Although his wives compete for him they are not totally at a loss if they have to sleep without him. When I was at his brother-in-law's house one day while he was away, Nanmblí's wife Wainlúin was there watching with amused appreciation while Padnmbá cast a knife at a log. Nothing passed between them but their boisterous laughter, but when Padnmbá at last went away Wainlúin leaned against the house-post and gazed after him. When he had gone fifty paces down the path he turned around, flashed a smile, and disappeared down the slope. I never heard what happened between Wainlúin and Padnmbá after that, but I did hear of a quarrel that Nanmblí had with both his wives because they had relations with other men. One day I saw Vomblé caressing his son's mother-in-law. Another time Chukembégn told me that he and a few others were on the side of a hill when a little way's off they saw Padnmbá making love to Waikuklé's wife in the bushes. Soon she got up and ran off but Chukembégn and his companions called out laughingly "You don't have to run; we saw you." A complete account of all the sexual intrigues would fill a long but rather repetitious chapter.

The amorous history of every young man or woman is one of the favorite themes of conversation among the young people. "First Koktá had an affair with Yonggó, then with Kanggúin and then with me. Then she went around with Kanyahé but he left her and took up with Yu'ó." "I went around for a while with Koktá. . . ." "Oh, no you didn't. She used to go around with Kundégn but now she's going to change to Kanyahé." They enumerate, expand, correct without end and with unflagging interest.

I never heard them discuss these affairs in front of the principals' spouses, but Amandá's presence did not prevent them from joking about her unmarried daughter's relations with Padnmbá and Ndíli. "Layongndá [her daughter] is lying with Ndíli. She has gone off with her lover Ndíli to get nuts." Amandá sat listening and laughing while she nursed her little bastard of five months.

The Kaingáng preoccupation with sex expresses itself also in the belief that death is often caused by intercourse with a supernatural monster or with a ghost. Both men and women may wake up in the morning sick and bleeding or insane because they have spent the night with the supernatural, who has lured or forced them into intercourse. Unlike their neighbors in

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of men. One day Klendó, a man about sixty-five, and I were sitting together in my little house discussing the *kuplóng*. Gradually clouds gathered in the west. The wind began to mount, and at last with a rush the storm swept up the valley. As the wind increased in violence the look of anxiety intensified on Klendó's face. He gazed with frightened eyes through the window before us, and his mind wandered as he watched in fascination the rivulets of water trickling under the frame. At last the catch on the window that faced the wind snapped, and with a burst of thunder and lightning and a swirl of wind and rain, the window was flung open, drenching the house in an instant and sending my papers flying. Klendó was seized with acute terror, and jumping up with more animation than he had shown in weeks, he dashed to the door, opened it a crack, and bellowed: "My *kókli*,[39] I am afraid of you; so stop! My *kókli*, you are angry with me; so you have made the storm!" Thus he shouted to his *kókli*, his second father, a man with whom he had had a most friendly relationship while he was alive.

"Why was he angry with you?" I asked. "I don't know," he replied, with that petulance that is so characteristic of the Kaingáng when they are frightened. But in the afternoon he had an explanation, for he had stopped to gossip and had learned that Kemblén's grandson had had a quarrel with Yukwáya that very day. Kemblén, "therefore, became angry with her [Yukwáya] and made it dark. Kemblén knew that Yukwáya was angry, and therefore it became dark."

In characteristic Kaingáng fashion, people fall sick and die either because they are attacked by some *nggiyádn* who wishes them ill or because they are seduced or "led off" by one who wants them for company. Thus the causes of illness and death are oriented toward both extremes of the Kaingáng world-view. In any event, the ultimate cause of death is complete soul-loss. Seduction is accomplished either through invitations to visit a "good country," i.e. where the hunting is good and the honey plentiful, or through sexual stimulation. When Vomblé's father tried to lure him away, it was through promises of plenty, but Klendó almost died because a female *nggiyádn* wanted him for a sex companion.

The defenses against soul-loss are very simple. The victim may simply say, "Let's go back," to those who wish to take him away, or he may renounce his connection with the *nggiyádn* if it happens to be an unconsummated sexual one. If it is consummated he is lost and soon dies. First he may go mad like Patklé, who copulated with a female *nggiyádn*, or he may rot inside, like Kulá. Whoever has intercourse with the supernatural will not burn easily on the funeral pyre, and he is an evil omen to his relatives. "One night," said Vomblé, "Kulá called out to her brother: 'Waipó,

[39] Ceremonial father.

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lift me up.' When he heard this, he woke up and took hold of her, lifted, and set her down. Then she said to him, 'It seems to me that you copulated with me,' but he replied: 'No! Probably *ŋgĝiyáda* copulated with you.' She lay there awhile and at last died. When she was burnt, she exploded. She was *sui* [an evil omen] to them. She lay on her back with her feet in the air. She also said her husband [Véye] copulated with her; that is why she died. Probably the *ŋgĝiyáda* looked like Véye. Her blood came out of her vagina."

Another way of bringing back the errant *kupléng* is through calling it, but it does not always return. "I saw Nggemú's *kupléng*," said Vombé, "before the Brazilians killed her. I got up at night when the moon was high. Nggemú was sleeping a little to the side. Her *kupléng* sat up. I thought it was she herself. It went out into the darkness. I thought she had gone to urinate, and I waited for her to return. I was awake, and I looked for her. I called out, 'Are you there?' 'Yes. When he [her infant] cried, I sat up.' 'I thought you went that way, and I waited for you.' 'I didn't go; I just sat up.' 'You went that way; I heard your noise.' Then Kuthúgn [her husband] rose and called Nggemú['s *kupléng*]: 'Come here, Nggemú, come here! Come to the meat you put aside!' He was calling her *kupléng*, but it probably did not come back, for nine days later the Brazilians killed her." It is interesting that mortals often use the same inducement to lure back the wandering *kupléng* as the *ŋgĝiyáda* do to draw it away; namely, food. Through the promise of plenty the *kupléng* of a man is lured away by the supernaturals; through food the soul of a dead child is induced to return to its mother's womb, and it was through food that the *kupléng* of Nggemú was tempted to return to Kuthúgn.

Behind the *kupléng's* wish to snatch away its living relatives is its strong attachment for them, but in the case of the ghost-soul of a dead enemy the motivating force is revenge. When relatives lead off the unwilling *kupléng* it is so that it may be cherished, but enemies seize the soul to punish the body. So, also, when supernatural beings other than ghost-souls take away *kupléng*, it is for similar reasons. Thus the Kaingáng imagination follows out its pattern consistently both with *kupléng* and with all other *ŋgĝiyáda*.

Kupléng may seduce, "lead off," or capture the souls of mortals, but devouring and shooting are the privilege of other *ŋgĝiyáda*. For devouring there is no remedy—once a person is eaten, he is consumed and that is all, but for shooting there is a cure, and that is extraction of the missile, a reddish, wormlike object. Anyone may summon back a wandering soul or even cure sickness with an infusion of herbs or of bark scrapings, but only a shaman who has seen supernatural Pain can extract *thévé*, the missiles which are shot into people by the monster Yunggí or by Pain.

"Tendó was a shaman. She took out men's *thévé*. Her sister Kukú had

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761 Far from permitting them control over species of plants and animals, the pessimistic totemism of the Kaingáng simply adds one more gloomy trait to the prevailingly somber character of their supernaturalism. Their totems are solely omens of death, for "When the Klendó are about to die there is no honey—there are only bees. When the Wanyekí are about to die the tapirs are very thin, because they are Wanyekí's *mang*. The pine tree belongs to Thethé [the circle people], and when they are about to die there are no pine cones. When they die they burn them in a dry pine tree. Before Chulí fell there were no pine cones—and then he fell. They burnt him in a dry pine tree. Before the Brazilians killed Kuikégn, the pines were the same way."

762 Like most peoples the world over, the Kaingáng reject certain things as foods while they accept others. But their preferences have little to do with their totemic ideas. There is a story in an origin myth of one of the line people who swam about in the water so much that he became a capavary, so that now the line people do not eat capavary; if they were to do so it would be like eating their own people. But almost no one at all eats capavary, nor do they eat armadillo or paca, that delicious fat little rodent that eludes the hunter like a streak of light. Some people abstain from tiger, but others eat its heart to make them valiant like the tiger, which roams and fights alone. None of these taboos are observed by everyone. Some animals from which the Kaingáng abstain were practically impossible for them to kill under the conditions of their old life, in which they had no traps or boats. The capavary is taken by trapping, the paca by trapping or by pursuit in a boat from which the hunter may kill it with a trident in the shallow water where it has hidden. The swift-flying and hypersensitive wild ducks are extremely hard to approach, and the meat of anteater and certain water birds has a very bad flavor. There seems to be less reason for abstaining from the toad, the armadillo, and the tiger. The Kaingáng say that they do not eat the tiger because its fat is white (not yellow like other animals') and that they abstain from armadillo because its bones break so easily that they are afraid their own will break.

All of these things that the Kaingáng do not eat are called *thanggĩgn*, which is the term they use for anything dirty. People who eat things that are *thanggĩgn* will lose their teeth, break their bones, or grow old prematurely.

Omens

787 The prevailing reason for the interest of the Kaingáng in omens is death. "I saw that before Padnmbá died it rained very heavily first," said Chukembégn. "Then the river rose after his death. The bees did not make honey—they just lived in the trees." All of this was because Padnmbá was